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against the government, white men, or other Indians with whom the ethnographer was also friendly. Above all the ethnographer (as well as his wife) sought to adopt a permissive attitude toward the people. Circumstances was definitely shunned and it was only after a high degree of familiarity and confidence had been attained that any attempt was made to enforce elementary hygiene by stopping indiscriminate spitting in the tent or four-log cabin. At about the same time some attitude had to be taken with reference to the problem of alcohol. In one or two episodes alcohol released so much aggression and nuisance in two men (aggression which tended to manifest itself toward the ethnographer), that drinking began to pose a serious problem. The ethnographer, therefore, informed his host that as far as he, the ethnographer, was concerned he would not join any more drinking parties that fall or winter. The host, Old Man, was somewhat chagrined and regretful for what had occurred but no further brewing was done for several weeks. It may be pointed out that this episode, except for constituting a brief period of strain, did not seriously impair rapport where this relationship had previously been established with individuals.

All field work was conducted in English and no interpreters were employed. The author, together with his wife and family of two children, ages two and four, lived first in Lower Post, the summer residence of the Kaska Indians, and then traveled with one group to its winter trapping area. Three months were spent in a winter settlement containing four Indian families.

Field procedure, as much as possible, followed the method of participant-observation. During the summer the author and his wife attended Indian dances and participated in many other cultural activities, including two potlatches, several gambling games, and a moose packing trip. In addition Indian camps were frequently visited and people were made welcome whenever they chose to visit the home of the ethnographer, which was located close to the hub of the trading post. In the winter, visiting was greatly increased because of the fact that all life was centered in a small settlement where interpersonal contacts were frequent. During this latter period the writer accompanied Indians hunting, fishing, and traveling. He also assisted them in a number of other cultural undertakings, like house building, toboggan construction, and trapping. Participant-observation obviously involved making notes of all ethnographically significant details which came to the writer's attention. Where observation presented problems, questions were noted and their answers sought by means of direct questioning.

Behavior manifested in the social interaction between the ethnographer, or the members of his family, and Indians was also carefully observed. Upon analysis these relationships proved to be revealing in instances of both positive and negative transferences noted in informants. An effort was also made to remain conscious of transferences established on the part of the ethnographer. To guard against bias these had to be taken into account when analyzing data derived from the objects of such relationships.

A "personality data sheet" (hereafter referred to as P-data sheet) was kept for those individuals with whom the ethnographer came into close and frequent interaction. The sheets contained simply of dated verbatim or abstracted transcripts of remarks and conversations expressing attitudes, wishes, and complaints. Folktales brought out in casual con-

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● 124 vation were also entered as well as certain behaviors which, at the time they were observed, seemed of small value as ethnographic data. A specimen portion of a P-data sheet is shown below.

P-DATA SHEET—OLD MAN

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159 9/27/43 (Old Man's Place). Discussing River Joe's loneliness this first winter of his widowhood and his plans for finding a new wife, Old Man said: "He calls himself Take Injun. Why don't he go to his own people to get wife?"

9/29/43. "I got nobody to cry to when I'm small kid. I try to make toboggan myself, small one. I burn it lots of times. I put it too close to fire. When I'm little kid I'm shy. I got no really mother. I got nobody make me anything."

According to Old Man, Harry Lang advised Hess to stay with Old Man a couple of years. "'If you do that,' he tell him, 'you're gonna have everything, little thing.'" Traveling around at Frances Lake, Hess had nothing. Trapping is a different country every winter, he would leave his traps in one place and then be without them in the next season. Now he is beginning to accumulate goods, said Old Man. "I don't think that man talk to his wife. I just hear his wife talking."

Old Man said maybe Peter Tom was not going to return to Louis Man's place for the winter because Man was too "mean" to Peter. Old Man pointed out that Peter got all the meat, ran Louis' trap line, and cut the wood. Louis only visited the line in November.

"First I keep my old lady we had trouble always. She want to wear sweaters at night too." His wife told Old Man that he could quit her if he didn't like her ways. He told her she should learn. "Don't cook straight meat; what we gonna do with this grub? No can keep it all winter." Sometimes she start to cry. Now this time she's all right."

9/29/43 (Evening). "I dream Irene Wiley grow more small. She go down a high hill. She start to pack water for my old woman down a high hill. Summer trail down there. My wife standing there. I left my gun there too. I go down too. Irene go down hill, she get smaller. Big kettle she packing around. She go down in the trail. Sqk, sqk you hear. Gee, I laugh. 'Irene,' I say, 'you grow small.' She say, 'Uncle, you wait. Aeroplane fly around. That's why I no scared I grow small.' I pack water up again. I don't want her to pack. She too small. I lost my pack. Lots of meat on top of the hill. That's why I figger I go to mountain. Lots of branch. We come back quick. I don't know Mrs. Harry [Lang]. She feel bad. I don't think they move."

[What does it mean, Irene growing small?] "I figger maybe when she go down to Laird maybe she get sick."

The dream came to Old Man's mind after he had been talking about Irene Wiley going to Lower Post with a white man. Old man said that while Irene was with him last winter she set traps but did not visit them again.

126 A daily journal was also kept in order to record the temporal sequence of events for future study as well as note their immediate importance on the ethnographer.

124 To increase the amount of verbalization by informants, with the aim of securing information about a wider range of behavior, a series of one hour interviews were conducted with a limited number of subjects willing to cooperate. Nine such subjects were secured but many of these could not be prevailed upon to continue the procedure after two or three hours. With one person interviews were conducted throughout the summer and early fall for a total of over fourteen accumulated hours. During the first interviews the person was invited to tell the story of his or her life. It was quickly evident that most of the Indians

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did not have the historical sense necessary to give a chronological record of this type. As 124
interviews continued and some subjects became more accustomed to talking in the ethnographer's presence, a number of "expressive interviews,"* were devised. These followed both active and passive techniques. In the passive interviews an attempt was made to duplicate as much as possible the psychoanalytic situation in which a subject is invited to speak freely whatever comes to his mind. In most cases where active participation of the ethnographer occurred in such interviews, the latter's question or direction was noted so that this influence could later be evaluated in analyzing the flow of communication. It was observed that strong or persistent questioning tended to produce confusion and arouse discomfort in many people. This made active interviewing extremely difficult. On the other hand if subjects were left alone with the invitation for spontaneous communication, they often said nothing. All of these behavioral reactions were regarded as important data for subsequent analysis. Another form of behavior was noted in two or three people. They manifested a rapid flow of more or less chronological detail which contained little in the way of personal attitudes or reactions to life experiences. This was a difficulty that could not be overcome. Each interview opened with a request for dreams. If any dreams were submitted, an attempt was made to secure associations. Only once or twice were dreams interpreted to subjects. Interviews were paid for at the conclusion of each hour and were, for the most part, recorded verbatim but in "long hand." They were always conducted in [126]
privacy, some in the ethnographer's home during the absence of his family, others on a log in the brush some distance from camp. Most interviews with men, however, were conducted in a small camp which the ethnographer had erected in a secluded area in Lower Post.

Finally, the Rorschach technique was used to secure verbal responses and additional 125
behavioral data. Like interviews, Rorschach protocols were attached to the P-data sheets which, in some cases, soon expanded into files.

During the time that informants were being interviewed, tested, or engaged in con- 124
versation, they were freely treated to cigarettes or cigarette tobacco. In a few cases interviews were followed by lunch or supper at the ethnographer's home.

Analysis. Up to this point discussion of method has been largely limited to the prepar- 128
ation for field work and the techniques followed in the observation and recording of behavior (including verbalization in the word "behavior"). When the collection of data was completed, two types of material could be distinguished, ethnographic data, which had been classified into categories specified in the *Outline of Cultural Materials*,* and personality data, consisting of interviews, Rorschach records, and the P-data sheets.

Analysis was first employed to construct a cultural background for the study of Kaska ethos. This was done primarily with the ethnographic data, although in some instances attitudes and experiences recorded on the P-data sheets were also utilized when these added knowledge that had not otherwise been observed or reported. The construction of the cultural background may be schematically described as follows:*

* Kluckhohn, The Personal Document in Anthropological Science (1942), [illegible].
* Murdock, et al., *Outline of Cultural Materials* (1945).
* Nothing in the following outline should be taken to deny that observation is not always compounded of some degree of inference or that perception is not always largely selective.

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121 *Culture and Ethos* (1949). In 1948, while spending a relatively lonely winter with the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario, I managed to salvage sufficient time to write up the first draft of the present manuscript from field notes which I had designedly taken North the previous summer. The following pages are published substantially as they came from the typewriter in 1951.

157 Conditions for work among the Kaska Indians remained almost unbelievably ex-
124 cellent when compared with the problems which anthropologists have encountered in Northern Apathaskan field work. Relatively little of the reticence, diffidence, and disinterest, that made previous work with the Fort Nelson Slave so difficult, manifested themselves at Lower Post. Willing male informants were easy to secure. However, in recent years I have become very conscious of the sampling deficiencies inherent in the traditional method of ethnography. This method has led to disproportionate amount of information being secured from informants belonging to the upper Liard River region. That group provided the most cooperative informants as well as those possessing considerable facility in English. In 1945 I spent part of the winter with these same willing upper Liard River folk.

000 For their generous hospitality, gratitude goes to Mr. and Mrs. J. Stewart, of the Hudson's Bay Company. At their door early that June morning appeared my family inquiring about a place in which to get breakfast. We were not turned away. I recall, too, the friendliness of Mr. and Mrs. Rupert Brooks, the always ready helpfulness of Mr. Clarence Millspaugh, and the open heartedness of Mr. Hans Anderson, one of the most unforgettable characters whom I have met in the North. Transportation was arranged through the cooperation of Major F. C. Barger, Lieutenants C. E. Barger and E. Waters, and Sergeant V. Kelly, all of the United States Army. Major D. M. MacKay, then Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, facilitated certain aspects of field work and his office supplied useful census data. My intellectual debt to Professor Cornelius Osgood is a pervasive one. To him I owe my original orientation to the peoples and cultures of northern North America. My sincere thanks for financial assistance to do field work go to the Department of Anthropology, Yale University, the Yale Peabody Museum, and to Mr. and Mrs. William A. Castleton. Professor Lucy Chamberlain, Chairman of the Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Washington Square College, New York University, helped me arrange a teaching schedule that left a maximum time for writing. For assistance in completing final typing of parts of the manuscript I acknowledge the help received from the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina.

Chapel Hill, 1954. JOHN J. HONIGMANN